carry water. Pottery, unknown to the eastern groups, is crude everywhere else. There are neither canoes nor dugouts. The Indians make five different types of musical instruments, all winds, which are often heard in festivals.

The difference in physical appearance between the Nambikwara and their eastern, western and southern neighbors—Paressi, Tupi-Kawahib and the tribes of the Guaporé—is striking. (2) And they

2. The anthropological study of the Nambikwara was the object of research of Dr. J.-A. Vellard, who was part of our expedition.

also differ from most of the other tribes of Brazil, whose physical type is generally more massive than theirs. In the case of the Nambikwara, the body is not exceptionally small; but they are slim, and their long hair, sometimes wavy and of more developed pilosity than the indigenous median, their hands and feet of reduced dimensions, their fine lineaments, and above all their faces, of characteristic outline but very purely chiseled, contribute to form a physical type far removed from that encountered most often in South America, but which reminds one persistently of certain types of southern Mexico and Guatemala, and even more of that characterized by the masks with pointed beards of the region of Vera Cruz.

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The Nambikwara get up at dawn, stir up the fires, warm themselves as well as they can after the cold of the night, then they eat lightly of the [16] remains of last evening's yucca cakes. A little later the men leave, together or separately, for a hunting expedition. The women remain in the camp where they devote themselves to culinary duties. The first bath is taken when the sun begins to come up. The women and children often bathe together for amusement, and sometimes a fire is lighted before which they crouch to warm themselves on coming out of the water while they playfully exaggerate a natural shivering. Other bathing takes place during the day. The daily occupations vary little. The preparation of food is that which requires the most care and time. Yucca must be ground and pressed, and the pulp dried and cooked. Or else the cumaru nuts (Dipteryx odorata) which add their perfume to most dishes must be shelled and boiled. When the need is felt, women and children go out on foraging expeditions. If the provisions are sufficient, the women spin, crouched

593 of the couple among the Nambikwara. It is the economic and psycho-
593 logical unit par excellence. Not only among errant bands which are
182 made and unmade unceasingly does the couple appear as the only
462 stable reality (at least theoretically), but it is the couple alone which assures the subsistence of the members of the group. The Nambikwara live under a double economy: the economy of hunters and gardeners on one hand, the economy of collectors and gatherers on the other. The first is assured by the man, the second by the woman. While the masculine group departs for a whole day to hunt, armed with bows and arrows, or works in the gardens during the rainy season, the women, armed with digging implements, wander with their children across the plain, and gather, pull out, pick, capture, seize [55] everything on their route that is worthy of serving as food: grain, fruits, berries, roots, tubers, eggs, small animals of all sorts. At the end of the day, the couple meets around the fire. When the manioc
● [252] is ripe, and as long as it remains so, the man brings a bundle of roots which the women pound and press to make a kind of pancake (uridnoeu, al). and when the hunt has been fruitful, they rapidly cook pieces of small animals by burying them under the burning cinders of the family fire. But for seven months of the year, manioc is rare. As for
[137] the hunt, it is most often a matter of chance in these sterile sands where a skinny small animal hardly ever leaves the shade, and the pasture lands at the heads of rivers are separated from one another by considerable stretches of semi-desert brush. Thus, the family
[24] must most often subsist on the collection of the women. Very often we have attended (and sometimes shared) these diabolical doll-size snacks which, for the Nambikwara, for half the year, are the only hope of not dying of hunger. When the man, silent and fatigued, re-
[262] turns to camp and throws his bow and arrows which he could not use to one side, from the basket of the woman is extracted an extraordinary and moving collection: some orange fruit from the buriti palm (e?eru, al, e?i?onde, bl, ?ola, c), two fat poisonous spiders (korafeu, al, kuti?nde, bl), some tiny lizards' eggs and some of these animals (kaiaterisu, al, nagede, bl, talime, c), a bat, some small nuts from the bacaiuva palm (arookesu, al, ko?eninde, bl), or uaguassu (aradikisu, al), a handful of grasshoppers (takedasu, al, tagese,
[252] bl, tasid, c). The pulpy fruits are crushed with the hands in a calabash filled with water, the nuts cracked with the blows of a stone, the animals and larvae buried pell-mell in the coals; and this repast is gaily devoured, a meal which would not be sufficient to satisfy the hunger of a white person, but which feeds a family here.

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sense of this term remains doubtful. And it has never been possible, in the course of the questions on kinship, to obtain from polygamous husbands discriminating terms for each of their wives.

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established between the first wife and the new arrivals. The first wife takes care of her children and devotes herself to the cares of the household, shredding the manioc and cooking the cumaru nuts. She is occupied with feminine craft tasks. In short, she carries on her activities within the [61] limits of the sexual division of labor. The other wives aid her occasionally, but their main duty seems to be to assist their husband in his masculine tasks. They are comrades and collaborators who, in the general plan of the division of labor, could be more justifiably claimed with the men. Their aid seems like a method on the part of the chief of the group to fulfill his heavy duties more easily, and like a psychological compensation for his responsibilities. When he leaves on a hunting or reconnoitering expedition, one of his polygamous wives accompanies him to hold his arrows and to carry in her basket the eventual prize. When he works around the camp or in the village, it is with their aid and company. Although men and women do not bathe at the same time, one sometimes sees the husband and his polygamous wives take a bath together, the pretext for great struggles in the water, and innumerable jokes. In the evening he plays with them, either amorously, rolling in the sand embracing two, three or four, or in a childlike way. For example A1, a3 and a4, stretched out on their backs, by way of making a star with three points on the ground, raise their feet in the air and knock them against one another, bottom of foot against bottom of foot, in a regular rythm (this game is described by the term eridnaikitiu, a1).

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The polygamous union is thus presented as a super-imposition of a plural form of amorous companionship on the monogamous marriage, and at the same time, we insist, as an attribute of command with a functional value from the psychological point of view as well as from the economic. The women usually live on very good terms, and although the first wife has a role that might seem a little unappreciated, working while she hears at her side the bursts of laughter of her husband and of his little mistresses, and sometimes even witnesses more tender frolicking, she does not show either bitterness or jealousy. In fact, this distribution of roles is not either unchangeable or rigorous, and, upon occasion, although rarely, the

1. She wears no decoration or ornament;

[107] 2. She does not touch food, neither to harvest it, to gather it, to prepare it nor to cook it;

3. She speaks to no one and no one says a word to her;

4. She avoids groups and when curiosity draws her toward our circle, she attends the distribution and exchange of gifts from a distance and in silence. If someone gives her or her husband a present (for example some beads), it is immediately given to the baby;

5. Every day she receives her food from her mother (a18), who gives it to her without speaking, and occupies herself with certain cares of the baby such as delousing it;

6. She does not bathe in the river, but washes herself with the water which she herself goes to draw in a gourd;

7. She goes away with her husband, sometimes for whole days, and, upon departure, follows him at a distance without saying a word; on these occasions, she takes the baby along.

A21 behaves similarly:

1. He does not go with the masculine group when they go hunting or gardening;

2. He rarely goes away, and then with his wife. The rest of the time he spends stretched out without taking part in any creative activity; they say he is ill (inkaltu);

3. In the degree to which he and his wife perform the most [143] indispensable activities, there is no division of labor between them. Either one buries the baby's excrement, or places in the coals the manioc received by a22 and a18 which constitutes their sole nourishment. Both are extremely thin, and appear very weak; their hair has not been cut or washed for a long time.

Toward June 20, 1938, this behavior was modified. For three consecutive days A21 and a22 disappeared for the whole day, doubtless to hunt, for, after several fruitless trips, they return (June 23 at 15 o'clock) with the following small game:

a. An irara (Mustela sp.);

b. Three bats;

c. Two lizards and their eggs.

The irara and the bats have already been put over the flame to burn off the hair. a22 begins immediately--and for the first time--to clean and crush a small quantity of manioc and she quickly puts a cake under the coals. At the same time she puts the broken lizard eggs there, and [108] takes them out barely cooked; she divides

846 252 them between herself and the baby. For the first time, she exchanges some words with her neighbors while laughing.

846 252 224 In the meantime, A21 has cleaned the irara. He gives the stomach, the large intestine, the small intestine to a2 (wife's sister); she, aided by her daughter a5, cleans the intestines, puts them on to cook and begins to eat them with a5 and a3.

A21 cuts the tail of the irara, cooks it rapidly, and eats it with his wife and baby.

The three bats have been given to a2 (wife's sister) and a1 (sister), who divides her lot with her son A16 and her son-in-law A15. a22 cooks the lizards and the organs (liver, heart, lungs, spleen, kidneys of the irara). She gives the whole thing to her husband, who gives a piece of liver to the baby and divides the rest with his wife.

All of these operations are carried out very rapidly in a sort of hurry, and are finished at the end of a half-hour. At 30 minutes past 15 o'clock, a22 lights a different fire from the one that each household uses, and places the irara there. She then goes to take her first bath in the river, and brings back some water in a gourd to wash the baby. Toward 16:15 the cooked irara is taken from the fire by A21. At this moment everyone has returned to camp and has taken his habitual place. A21 and a22, seated near the new fire, occupy a central position. A21 cuts the irara into five pieces and divides it among the members of the family, as was said previously. (1)

1. Cf. above, p. 74 f.

From that time on, A21 and a22 take up normal activity and are no longer distinguished from their companions.

846 Thus the period of abstinence is characterized by relative isolation of the couple in question, which is at the same time under a certain number of taboos (social contacts, baths, preparation of food, dress, eating of certain foods). It ends at the moment when the child takes its first meal not consisting solely of milk (in this [224 case the lizard eggs and the irara liver. This meal is part of a hunting 842] feast offered to the group by the parents who up to now were under the taboo. However, the atmosphere in which these operations are carried out merits attention. No solemnity surrounds them, and the parties concerned perform them with the same routine and nonchalance which characterizes daily activities. It is not a question then of a ceremony with the psychological implications which this term carries, but of a collection of acts which must be done, and are done, with a minimum of attention accorded to their exceptional character.

2: Lévi-Strauss E-5 (1938-1939)1948
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When rains come, the *Nambicuara* settle in temporary villages, and the men open circular gardens in the gallery forest by burning and felling the trees with stone (now steel) axes. They till the soil with pointed sticks and raise both bitter and sweet manioc, several kinds of maize which are different from those of their more civilized neighbors (Roquette-Pinto, 1938, p. 297 n.), beans, gourds, cotton, urucú, and a variety of small tobacco with tiny leaves. Despite the difficulty of fishing in the deep, clear tributaries of the Juruena River, they have moderate success using fish arrows, basket traps, and a drug made of a vine.

Food preparation.—Game is usually only half cooked in hot ashes, but it is sometimes smoked on rectangular or pyramidal babracots. Manioc is grated on thorns of the catinal palm (*Iriartea* sp.) imbedded in palm wood planks. To remove the poisonous juice of bitter manioc, the pulp is either squeezed in a strip of bark twisted spirally or buried for several days to allow the juice to drain off. Balls of the pulp are then sun-dried and packed in leaves in baskets or buried at marked places. In times of scarcity, perhaps months later, the half-rotten balls are made into flat cakes, hastily cooked in hot ashes, and eaten.

The *Nambicuara* cannot bear to eat salt, which they do not know how to prepare, or pepper, which they do not cultivate. Even hot food is cooled with water before it is eaten. Wild honey, too, is diluted with water. The only condiment is a variety of cumarú bean which has a strong, bitter almond taste. It is boiled in pots; afterward the liquid is drunk and the beans are mixed with food, especially with grasshoppers crushed in mortars. Armadillo meat is often ground with maize flour.

Domestic animals and pets.—The *Nambicuara* have many pets, especially monkeys, coatis, parrots, and birds. Domesticated animals were unknown until the Rondón Commission introduced chickens and dogs. Although at first extremely afraid of dogs, the Indians quickly adopted them and treated them with the same deep affection they show all their tame animals. Even now they are terrified by oxen seen at telegraph stations, and call them by the name given to the deadly spirits of the water and the bush. They do, however, hunt and eat horses and mules as if they were wild game.

HOUSES

The surprising variety of house types suggests recent borrowing from neighboring tribes. The *Nambicuara*, like the *Siriono*, may formerly have lacked houses entirely. During most of the year, even at the present time, they build only scanty temporary shelters for a single night. These consist of branches of palms stuck into holes dug in the sand to form a half or quarter circle on the side from which the sun, the wind, or rain are expected (pl. 37, *center, left*). Each individual family builds its own

3: Lévi-Strauss E-5 (1938-1939) 1944
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ties down to their smallest details. There is, undoubtedly, a function in chieftainship. This can, however, be reached only through analysis as the underlying principle of the institution. In other words, the differing structure of the digestive organs in man, ox, fish and clam do not point toward different functions of the digestive system. The function is always and everywhere the same, and can be better studied, and more fully understood where it exists under a simple form—for instance, in a mollusc. Similarly, and as Professor Lowie once wrote, if anthropology is to be considered as a scientific study, its subject matter cannot be individual cultures, but culture taken as a whole; the rôle of individual cultures being to offer, according to their own characteristics, special angles from which the basic functions of culture, although universal in application, can be more easily reached.

This will perhaps help us to eliminate preliminary questions which otherwise could have proved very difficult. Anthropologists in South America and elsewhere have been eagerly debating the question of whether these South American tribes—nomadic, relying mostly on collecting and gathering, with little or no agriculture, little or no pottery, and, in some cases, with no dwelling other than crude shelters—should be considered as truly primitive and as having preserved their exceptionally low cultural level through tarriance, or whether they did not previously possess a higher type of social and material organization and have regressed to a pseudo-archaism under unfavorable circumstances. The Nambikuara are one of those tribes which, along with the Siriono, on the other side of the Guaporé valley, the Cayapo, Bororo, Karaja of central Brazil, the so-called *Gé* of Central and Eastern Brazil, and some others, together form a kernel of primitiveness surrounded, in the West, by the higher tribes of the upper Amazon, the Bolivian plain and the Chaco, and from the Orenoco's to the La Plata's estuaries, by a coastal strip inhabited mostly by the Arawak, Carib and Tupi-Guarani linguistic families. An independent linguistic stock divided into several dialects, the Nambikuara seem to display one of the more backward cultures in South America. At least, some of their bands do not build huts and are wholly ignorant of pottery and, even among the others, these two arts are exceedingly poor. There is no weaving, except for the narrow arm and leg bands which are made of cotton; no dress whatsoever, either for the men or for the women; no sleeping contrivances, such as hammocks or platforms; the natives being used to sleeping on the bare ground without the protection of blankets, mats or hides.

The Wakitisu do not
323 make pottery, but they sometimes acquire pots from the Paresi in exchange for game or fish.

HUNTING, FISHING, AND COLLECTING

621 Today, at least, the Wakitisu band is a producing and consuming unit. Whatever a man or his family gathers is shared among the band. This, however, does not mean that the whole band goes out every day or that they keep together while out hunting, fishing, and collecting. Except
594 when the men go hunting such large game as the jaguar, tapir, and peccary, the acquisitive unit is the family. Every morning while Julio's band was camped in Utiarity a family or two could be seen going out, the husband walking in front armed with bow and arrows, the wife following [482 and carrying a burden basket on her back and a 858] baby strapped on her hip, an older child following her. As they move slowly along they collect 222 fruits, nuts, insects, snakes, ants, lizards, rats, wild honey, and a great variety of grubs or larvae. 226 When they come to a pond they wade around with small baskets in their hands and scoop out small fish. On one of these trips I observed them [252 catching fish that were only 2 inches in length. 262] These were later thrown on hot coals and eaten 223 without being cleaned. Small birds no larger 222 than a sparrow are shot if the man can get near [314] enough to use his bow and arrow. If they come to a buriti stalk of the right size they will cut it down, put it into the burden basket, and take it 313 to camp. On their way home they will usually pick up dry firewood. Thus, when a family returns at nightfall the basket will be full of a wide assortment of foods and useful materials.

224 Monkeys, deer, and large birds are generally [177] stalked by a single hunter, particularly if he has a gun. Julio and Marciano each owned a shotgun and quite often hunted alone. If a man goes out in the morning and runs onto a group of peccaries he will hurry back to camp, and all the men will then go to where the peccaries are feeding. When they hear the peccaries the hunters will form into three files, one heading directly toward the pigs, the other two flanking the game on each side. When near enough the middle file stops and spreads out, the other two files then slowly surround the pigs. As the flanking movement is going on the pigs sometimes move, but the middle group of hunters maintains contact

224 with them and informs the flanking hunters with bird calls. When completely surrounded the flanking parties drive the pigs back against the central group where the best archers are stationed. As the pigs charge back, they are shot at close range. Usually an arrow will stop a peccary so that it can be killed later with a club. If the hunters are well organized very few peccaries escape.

252 The hunters then open up all the pigs and take [264] out the viscera. The entrails are emptied and along with the heart, liver, etc., are thrown on hot coals to broil and are eaten on the spot. [442] When opening an animal the hunter grasps a handful of skin over the belly and cuts it off with a bamboo knife leaving a round hole through which the viscera are drawn out. After everyone has eaten, the carcasses are carried back to camp where the meat is cut up and shared among the families, the man with a large family getting more than one with a small family even though the [251] man had not shot anything. All meat that cannot be eaten in a day or two is cut up and dried.

224 The Nambicuara now have a few dogs which [231] they use when hunting jaguars. The dogs drive the jaguar into a tree where it can be shot with a gun or with arrows. Sometimes a wounded jaguar will attack the hunters, and injuries occur. Marciano's 6-year old son had his head and face clawed by a wounded jaguar which his father was not able to kill with the first shot of his shotgun.

Armadillos are dug out of holes. The soil is first loosened with a stick and then dug with a gourd, the diggers sometimes having to go as deep as 8 feet. When they get near the armadillo they put a long stick under it and force it up against the top of the hole in order to prevent it from digging further. When near enough a man reaches into the hole with his hand and pulls out the armadillo. If the hunters are very hungry [264] they will roast the armadillo on the spot, taking left-over pieces of roasted meat home to their families.

224 Although sharing is the custom, and it is amus-
264 ing to observe several men sitting around a 6-inch lizard to eat it, single hunters sometimes succeed in avoiding their obligations. One day as I walked along with Cascudo, followed by several Nambicuara some distance behind, he killed a snake and threw it into the bushes and signaled

226 Xingú, the Nambicuara timbó fishing appears very elementary. The small fish are wrapped in [252] leaves and placed in hot ashes until cooked. Large fish are broiled on a babracot. The Nambicuara also claim that they fish at night with [177] torches along the river banks. This method may have been taken over from the Brazilians.

AGRICULTURE

241 The principal food crops grown by the Nambicuara are bitter manioc, sweetpotatoes, arrowroot, cará, maize, beans, and peanuts. To this list we must add such nonfood crops as cotton, tobacco, urucú, and gourds. The scientific and native names of these plants are listed in Appendix 1.[1] In more recent times they are known to produce sweet manioc and sugarcane. The dependence upon food crops in relation to game, fish, and wild food plants is difficult to gage. The statements of missionaries, however, appear to indicate that cultivated crops do not provide a year-round food supply and may actually play a minor role as compared with dependence upon noncultivated resources.

Farming is done on the slopes of the "galeria" forests, where, as we have seen, they also do most of their hunting and collecting. The Wakitisu band clears and cultivates a single field and, as we have said, lives in a single house while thus occupied. In the past the field (*kaitsu*) was [177] cleared with a stone ax (*sténe*) and a wooden club (*kakutáisu*). Today steel axes and machetes are used, but the method of planting is still the same. The efficiency of steel tools over stone axes and wooden clubs is indicated by the statement that in the past when a new field had to be cleared the people had to work during most of the wet season in order to fell the trees, a task which they now perform in May and June.

Formerly the light undergrowth was pulled out by hand and the bushes and saplings were beaten down with the wooden club. The Nambicuara 241 had a unique way of felling trees. Starting near 313 the bottom of the slope, they cut all the small trees part way through, then selected a number of large trees as kingpins. When these large trees were felled they knocked down the smaller trees below them. This was continued until they had a circular clearing of the required size on the slope. 241 Today the clearing is done with axes and knives,

[1] [Cal-116, pp. 121-126.—Ed.] [p. 90 (B)]

252 The Nambicuara method of processing manioc in comparison with that of the Camayurá is simple and crude. The following describes the method used today: Marciano's wife dug up a burden basket full of manioc from a field belonging to the Protestant Mission. She sat under a tree and peeled the tubers with an old butcher knife (formerly a piece of bamboo was used). She washed the peeled tubers and placed them in a calabash. She then took a grater made from a piece of kerosene box about 2 feet long and 6 inches wide to which an 18-inch strip of perforated tin was nailed. She placed one end of the grater in a larger copper basin (belonging to the mission) while the other end rested on the edge, and while steadying the grater with one hand she grated the tuber with the other. The tubers did not stand in water nor were they dipped in water during the process of grating.

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After the tubers were grated she dipped out a calabash full of mash and began pressing it with her hands and pouring the juice into another calabash. After she had drained off as much juice as possible she picked up a handful of mash (*wiñaxe*) and rolled it and squeezed it until no more juice could be expelled. This ball she placed in another calabash and continued making balls until the calabash was full. She then patted down the balls to form a round loaf about 10 inches in diameter and 4 inches thick, which she set out on the bare ground to dry in the sun. After several days in the sun these loaves get hard and dry and form the storable product (*kisokónyare*) from which the edible cake *hi'taíre* (also called *walónaxa*) is baked. The juice (*eyéwaz*) which was left in the calabash she poured into a slight depression in the ground, and after the liquid had drained off she collected the thin film of starch flour (*akuñwiw*) along with some sand, rolled it into a ball, and placed it in hot ashes to bake. The lack of pottery vessels prevents the Nambicuara from saving and boiling the juice. They know, however, that the juice is valuable, and when they have cooking vessels they boil it to form a thick porridge.

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When the Nambicuara wish to prepare a greater quantity of pulp they use a piece of bast for a press. This is a piece of embira bark about 3 feet long and 8 inches wide called *sáwa*. A woman rolls a ball of pulp in the strip of bark and twists the bark until the pulp is dry. The balls are then

252 placed on a platform under which a fire is lighted. In this manner large quantities of *hinokényre* can be prepared in one day.

When a woman gets ready to bake a manioc cake she pushes the hot coals and burning wood to one side and pats down the hot bed of the fire with a flat piece of wood. She then breaks off pieces from a dried manioc loaf and crumbles them over the bed of the fire by rubbing them in her hands. When she has crumbled up enough dry manioc, she pats down the flour to form a round, flat cake about 10 inches in diameter and from 1 to 2 inches in thickness. She covers the cake first with hot ashes and then hot coals. After one-half hour she uncovers her oven to find a brown cake covered with ashes and cinders. This sour, dirty, gritty product in no way compares with the fine-textured, sweet *mungó* of the Camayurá, the meal for which is prepared by crushing the dry loaf in a mortar, then sifted to remove the rough fibers, after which the flour is dampened and baked on a pottery baking plate. Sometimes the whole manioc loaf is placed in the fire, and as it bakes the Nambicuara begin to break off pieces from the outside. For ceremonial purposes they bake cakes about 2 feet in diameter.

241 Toward the end of the rains in April and May the Nambicuara return to their fields to enjoy the fresh garden products. The harvest is inaugurated with a harvest ceremony (*hoikónak-idutsu*). [262] Fresh maize, peanuts, and sweetpotatoes are [252] roasted, manioc cakes are prepared, and, if possible, manioc juice is boiled to make chicha. These garden products, along with meat, supply the food for the feast, which lasts for several days. [534] The sacred flutes (*uséarku*) are played in the flute hut, the spirits of the ancestors are present, and food and drink are offered to them.

221 The subsistence activities of the Nambicuara are, thus, closely associated with the annual cycle of growth in which agriculture forms but a part. The dependence of the Nambicuara upon the wild products of the forest and plateau are much more complex than has been indicated. They supplied long lists of names of plants, insects, and animals for which no Portuguese names could be found. A full understanding of their economic dependence upon the environment would come only by someone following a band of Nambicuara throughout the year to observe the complete annual cycle of

4: Oberg E-5 (1949) 1953
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subsistence activities. For instance, they say that they eat the blossoms of certain plants and a great number of grubs, larvae, and insects. A favorite dish is to crush in a mortar manioc cakes with boiled beans, broiled meat, ants, palm nuts, monkey and bird bones.

As an example of the variety of uses to which the Nambicuara can put a plant we can take the buriti palm: (1) They eat the pulp surrounding the scaly covered nut. (2) They use the fibers from the new growth to make twine. (3) They use the tough, flexible cortex of the frond stalk for making baskets. (4) They fell the buriti so that a certain variety of grub can collect and multiply in the starchy pith in the heart of the tree. The grubs or larvae they then eat uncooked. (5) The dried frond stalks are tied into bundles and used as floats for crossing rivers. In addition, the buriti palm has male associations, for only men can prepare its products. When a male child dies a piece of buriti fiber is left over his grave.

The Nambicuara make fire by the drill method. They cut two round pieces of dry stick about 18 inches in length and three-quarters of an inch in diameter from some bush that has a soft pithy center. The lower stick is split and into the flat side shallow notches are cut to hold the drill in place. The drilling stick is then inserted into the notch while the lower stick is held in place by the toes of the man as he squats over it. He then begins to twirl the stick between his palms, pressing downward. As his hands reach the bottom, he quickly brings them to the top and continues drilling until the pith in the lower stick kicks into small smouldering balls. These he places into a handful of dry buriti fiber and begins to blow on them until the fiber ignites. About 2 minutes is all that is required to make a fire by this method.

MANUFACTURING

The material equipment of the Eastern Nambicuara is extremely simple. Many items, such as the conical trap for catching fish, the floats for crossing rivers, the loom for weaving arm bands, and the mortar and pestle for crushing food products are made for the occasion and are discarded when the task is completed or when the people move. The small grater and the few gourd vessels, small baskets, and twine, the woman carries

4: Oberg E-5 (1949)1953
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411 (1) The *kéepare*, an arrow which is used for [223 224] shooting monkeys and large birds, is made by lashing an inch-long slender barb of aiéva palm or pirva about an inch back from the sharpened point of the foreshaft.

[227] (2) The *saiáiwa*, or fish arrow, is made by lashing four slender points of wood about 2 inches long to the end of the foreshaft. This arrow need not be feathered. Today wire is sometimes substituted for the wooden points.

[225] (3) The *dáakiwa*, or blunt bird arrow, used for shooting small birds, has a separate pirva foreshaft, the end of which forms a rounded flat surface about an inch in diameter.

[224] (4) The *képtiwa*, or big game arrow, has a broad split bamboo point about 12 inches in length which is lashed to the foreshaft. As the bamboo point is slightly grooved along the center, the foreshaft lies along the groove permitting it to be lashed firmly to the tapered sides of the point. Formerly curare poison was smeared along the groove. This was also the arrow used in war.

Sometimes a bamboo point is serrated on one or both sides. In former times, this arrowhead was poisoned with curare. It was attached loosely to the shaft so that when it struck an animal it became detached from the shaft. This arrow was used against big game like the jaguar, tapir, deer, and against human enemies.

The bow is held in a vertical position when shooting; the arrow is held with the thumb and forefinger while the middle and ring finger pull the bowstring, with the arrow resting against the hand side of the bow.

283 Cordage is made from the fibers of the tucum and buriti palms and from cotton. The tucum [306] palm (*Astrocaryum tucuma*), *kaiáiwa*, provides not [295] only fiber but the hard shell of the nut is used for making the black, round, flat necklace washers, and the thorns from the trunk are used as spikes in the manioc grater. Tucum twine which is a little stronger than buriti twine is used for bowstrings, for stringing beads, and for many other purposes. When a man needs tucum twine he sends his wife to gather the palm leaves. As the young trees grow in clumps, it is a simple matter for the woman to cut off a number of fronds. The women then take a long slender leaf, bends it double in the middle so that the woody fiber breaks, then doubles it back and pulls downward

844 is buried in the camp. The child is bathed, and
tiny washers made of tucum nut hull are placed
[304] on its ear lobes. The washer or ring is cut on
an angle so that the two points eventually press
through the lobe creating a hole. As the child
grows, new washers are added. After a few weeks
[551] the child is given a beaded necklace, but it is not
named, being known only as the child of so-and-so
until puberty, when it receives a name. The
Wakitênes appear to have no avoidances following
the birth of a child, although the Kitâuhix are
[845] said to practice a modified form of couvade.
Twins are accepted with satisfaction. Illegitimate
[848] children are likewise accepted and are cared for
by the girl's parents until she marries. No stigma
appears to be attached to an unmarried mother;
however, this attitude may be a recent develop-
[845] ment. Crippled or malformed babies are not
[847] killed, but usually die shortly after birth.

Children are nursed until they are 2 or 3 years
853 old or until another child is born. Women in the
band assist one another in nursing and taking
care of the infants. If a woman should have two
small infants, another woman who has lost her
854 child will nurse one of them. Small children are
carried on the hip of the mother, sitting on a
strap which passes over the opposite shoulder of
the mother. This strap which is made from
embira bark or woven cotton is about 4 inches in
width. Women evidently are accustomed to
carrying heavy loads, for on many occasions the
tiny women were observed carrying not only their
child but also a huge burden basket full of fire-
wood. When the child gets a few teeth it begins
to chew on a piece of broiled meat. One morning
while Kacro and I were debating what to do with
a rat which we had caught in a box trap the
night before, neither of us having the courage to
put our hand in the box, one of the missionaries
suggested we give it to the Nambicuara. Kacro
then carried the box over to Julio's camp and gave
853 it to one of his wives. Without any hesitation
the woman put her hand in the box, pulled out
252 the rat, banged its head on the box, and threw it
on the coals of her fire. After the hair had been
partially singed off she pulled it out, cut off its
tail with her thumb nail, and gave it to her
cowife's baby, who began sucking on it as if it
had been a piece of candy. Then with her thumb

853 nail she opened the rat and threw the viscera and
252 the rat on the coals. Within 15 minutes that rat was eaten, entrails and all, while Kacro and I looked on in a state of horrified fascination. [862] Children thus begin by eating broiled meat and fish; pieces of sour, gritty manioc cake are given to them at a more advanced age.

PUBERTY

881 When a boy reaches the age of 14 or 15 he has
[304] his upper lip and the septum of his nose pierced with a sharpened fibula of a monkey ("macaco-prego"). One man holds the boy's arms, another his head, while an older male relative performs the piercing. Small plugs of bamboo are then placed in the holes. The following night the shaman leads the band in singing and dancing. Food is prepared in large quantities and offerings are made to the ghosts who are believed to be present [553] at the ceremony. The boy is now given a name which he will keep throughout his life. If the boy's father is dead he will use his father's name. If the father is alive he will use the name of some dead member in his grandfather's generation. In this way names are passed from one generation to another. An important part of the boy's puberty ceremony is the ritual beating administered by the old men of the band. He is now permitted to take part in the singing and can be present when the sacred flutes are played in the flute hut. Although this creates an attitude of obedience to the older men, he still continues to be abusive toward the women of the band. His unmarried female cross cousins now begin to notice him and openly show their desire to go hunting with him.

The puberty ceremony for girls is much more elaborate. After a girl has her first menses her father builds a small hut in the center of the camp, in which the girl is secluded. She must remain in this hut day and night and is attended by her female relatives. The chief then calls all members [202] of the band together, even sending messengers to distant hunting parties. When the band is united the chief organizes a hunt in which all the men take part, and they must remain away from the [251] camp until the moon is full. While on the hunt they accumulate a great quantity of smoked meat. When the moon is full, the men send a messenger to the camp to whom the women give some of the

[p. 103 (8)]

5:Roquette-Pinto E-4 (no date)1913 SP17 Nambicuara SP17

Abstract.

Little has hitherto been known of the Nhambiquára who inhabit the valley of the Juruena and are spread thence to the rivers Sararé and Galéro, affluents of the Guaporé. In 1909, an official Brazilian explorer, Colonel Rondon, during his journey in the interior of Matto Grosso, was able to enter into friendly relations with them, collecting ethnological objects, and gathering information of their life, geographical distribution and customs, with those also of the Parecí.

The Parecí give the names Uáikoákoré and Cuihanierê to the Nhambiquára, thus dividing them into two groups. Individuals of the latter group have darker skins and are more warlike. Colonel Rondon appears to have cleared up the meaning of the name Kabixí, which has been a cause of confusion, as often happens with collective names like Bugre, Tapuya, Guaycurú and others. The dwellers in Villa Bella (Matto Grosso) were accustomed to call Kabixí those Indians whom the Parecí called Uáikoákoré, and who, as now stated, are Nhambiquára. This name of Uáikoákoré is given by the Parecí of the sub-tribes Kazinitê and Uainaré of the rivers Arinos, Sacuriá-iná, Tabaris-iná and Timalatiá to their kindred of the Kozirini group who inhabit the upper parts of the Rio Verde, the Juba, Caboçal and Jauru. The term Kabixí is derogatory, implying an inferior condition.

The Nhambiquára are usually of medium height; they have large teeth, the abdomen rather prominent, muscular thighs, slender legs and well made feet. They perforate the nostrils, the nasal septum and the ear-lobes. Through the holes made in the nose they pass small pieces of wood, and from the ear lobes they hang ornaments made of small beads of coconut. They wear armlets, bracelets, leg ornaments and head collars made from the fruit of the mbacáiba. They live by the chase, but also plant maize, yams, potatoes, mandioc, and beans. They smoke leaves similar to Brazilian tobacco and do not use hammocks but sleep on the ground, like the Campa-atziri and the Amúsas of the Gran Pajonal.

In the collection made by Colonel Rondon for the National Museum at Rio de Janeiro there is an alimentary paste similar to the Késhbé of the Parecí, made from pounded mandioc. The native *breu* or bitumen is used with string to fasten arrow points to their shafts. It appears to be a mixture of Oanini and wax, and is preserved in leaves of the Malá-malá palm. It melts at a very low temperature.

To fell trees a stone axe, fixed in a wooden handle by means of cord and bitumen, is used. The Indian who succeeds in felling certain trees with this primitive instrument receives as reward an arara or mutum feather for a nose-ornament. Such a decoration is usually reserved for warlike prowess among the natives of Brazil. The bows are large, strong, of red wood and well-polished, with semi-cylindrical transversal section. Those in the Rondon collection vary from 1m. 90 to 2m. 38 in length. To draw an arrow of 50cm. between the larger bow and its string of tucum a traction force of 60 kilos. is necessary, as verified by the dynamometer. There are five types of arrows. They have two musical instruments, one, a double flute made of two pieces of bamboo tied together, the other, two concave disks of calabash, about 8 cm. in diameter, united at the edges by a strip of Malá-malá and bees. The upper disk has three orifices.

7: Roquette-Pinto--22D E-4, 5 (no date)1938 SP17 Nambicuara SP17
(ca. 1912)

Fig. 88. Mortar of the
Serra do Norte Indians

The external layers cover the whole building, like very precise and well clipped sheets of straw. The side walls are not distinct from the roof, but mere extensions of it.

Of the two houses we have described, in the village close to the Carumi (or Festa da Bandeira) River, the larger covers 30 meters in circumference, the other 28. Their doorways measure 0.37 meters in width by 0.52 meters in height. These two houses stand on a plaza some twenty meters in diameter.

Inside the huts stand three bamboo grids (giraus) to dry manioc scrapings, and two enormous black pots which could not have come through the doors; lighter utensils and various other implements, as well as ornaments, are kept in the ceiling thatch. This serves as the Indians' closet, where they hide their smaller belongings. [Fig. 24]

A small fire burns underneath each grid.

These grids were made up of four bamboo stalks sunk into the ground and supporting a horizontal grate of small bamboo reeds. They measured about two meters in length by one and a half in width.

The huts are not equipped with any smoke holes, and none are needed. The smoke of inside fires filters easily through the interstices of the thatch.

Around the dwelling, scattered or in heaps, lie disjointed bones, fragmented cocoanuts, pods of the jatobá bean, corn cobs, charcoal, and food refuse, mixed with worn-out tools and utensils.

In the village on the Festa da Bandeira River, I found beside a house a large object which I only failed to bring back because it would have been absolutely impossible to transport it. It was of a kind commonly found in the sambaquis [224] of the Atlantic coast: a rock pitted with several depressions large enough to hold a fingertip. To one side lay a prodigious quantity of small bacaba nuts, both shelled and unshelled. It has often been inferred that this implement was used to produce fires, but in the Serra do Norte it merely serves to shell palm nuts. This stone, however, was much larger than those generally encountered in the sambaquis.

The temporary shelter consists of a screen of leaves and branches. The Indians may use it for a few days if hunting in the area is good; then they abandon it.

[Fig. 18]

241 They subsist chiefly on the produce of husbandry; the development of agriculture in their backward milieu [229] constitutes one of the paradoxical traits of this tribe.

242 As a general rule, it may be said that the Nambicuara eat of everything; unlike some other Indians, they do not shun certain species of animals. A mosquito that lands on their body, a louse, a locust, a small lizard that scampers by--nothing is spared.

[252] Some of them carry sticks to kill any snakes they may encounter; they roast them in the embers and eat the delicacy with pleasure.

After roasting their catch, they discard only the stomach.

At the camp on the Primavera River, whenever one of them was hungry he would run off into the bush and return with a live calango [a small lizard]; after beating the head of the little animal against a piece of wood [230] he would throw it into the hot ashes. Later he would tear open the animal's abdomen with his nails, remove the stomach and enjoy the rest. On another occasion, the Indians caught an armadillo and killed it by twisting its neck.

In hunting and fishing they use arrows that will be described later.

252 They prepare the eggs of the wild duck (Cairina moschata, 242 L.) by nestling them in shallow depressions in the embers after [243] turning them on a diminutive spit stuck through a small hole punched in the shell.

The meat of large game--deer, paca (Coelogenis paca), [225] capybara (Hydrochoerus capybara)--is utilized only after it has been pounded in a mortar or beaten between two pieces of wood.

[Fig. 19]

264 They cut off large pieces with their nails, with their teeth, and sometimes with knives of wood or bamboo. No sooner have they gulped down what is in their mouth than they suck their fingers, clucking their tongue noisily.

251 The Tagnani are familiar with the preserving properties of smoke; the meat we handed out to them was not all eaten on the same day. They hung the remnants on the barbecue [moquém].

252 The Cocozu do not use a barbecue; they roast their meat in the embers. The quantity of ashes they swallow with the roast is considerable.

[Plates p. 230.]

[231] The Tagnani and Tawite build a characteristic type of barbecue. They set up four stakes which they connect with four crosspieces; between these they place two sticks to hold the pieces of meat.

[Fig. 23]

[278] 262 They drink honey mixed with water (hydromel). They like young bees, which they eat with the honey and wax.

They do not allow the maize to ripen, but eat it roasted when still green. Manioc is subjected to the same process, or it is used in 252 grated form to make cakes [beiju].

They press the gratings with embira cord and prepare very white pellets with the starch. To make the cakes, they open a cavity in the hot ashes of a fire and deposit in it a pellet of manioc dough which they smooth out with some piece of wood and with their hands. Then they cover it with ashes and embers; after a period of time which we do not know how they estimate, they uncover a large, roasted, sweet-smelling cake, somewhat sour, but which would be rather pleasant if it were not so covered with ashes and if it had not been prepared by such an unclean process...

[263 274] Green mangaba, (1) no sooner seen, is immediately plucked

1. Fruit of the mangabeira (Hancornia speciosa). (Ed.)

and placed in the embers. When roasted, it turns tender and pleasing to the taste.

From bacaba palm nuts the Tawite make a purplish mush [242] (uidniarê) which tastes like green leaves and which they relish. In order to prepare this uid-niarê, they pound the fruit of the palm and place it in water over the fire. This is actually a decoction.

273 We did not have an opportunity to observe the preparation of any fermented liquids. Yet the Indians make alcoholic beverages by

7:Roquette-Pinto--283 E-4, 5 (no date)1938 SP17 Nambicuara SP17
(ca. 1912)

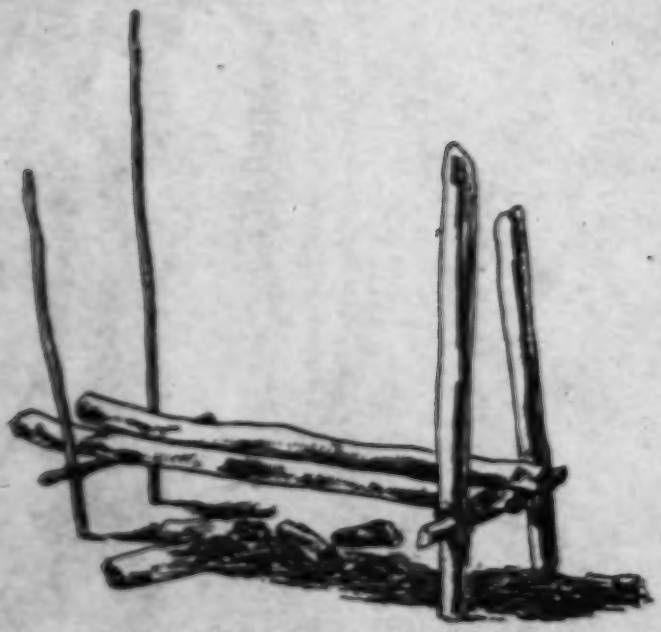

Fig. 25. Barbecue of the Tagnani and Tawite.

264 The children partake of a meal immediately; the women eat later... whatever is left over, if there is a leftover. This, by the way, is the rule even among civilized Indians... But in general, if there is plenty, each helps himself to whatever there is, when he wishes and as he wishes; the food belongs to all.

262 [236] They skillfully remove the gall bladder from the liver of the animals they devour, but they do not have a special name for it.

[252] Aarú is a cake which the Cocozu prepare by pounding up a whole roasted armadillo in a mortar until its bones are completely mashed, and then mixing it with manioc dough in the form of beiju.

[225] An upland rat (Scapteromys gnambiquarae, Miranda Ribeiro), which the Paressi call cólori, is prized by the Nambicuara as a delicacy. They call it arantacú.

241 They gather and utilize the produce of their husbandry from day to day. They have no special harvesting time, and no stores or surpluses except for the tobacco which they keep between two sticks hanging from the ceiling thatch.

251 There is always manioc dough in the house; it is the Nambicuara bread, which they eat with all their other foods. They keep the dough in large baskets lined with pacova (1) leaves.

1. A kind of banana. (Ed.)

[237] Leftover honey is kept in the gourd; it does not reach fermentation because the desire [to drink it] soon revives in some Indian...

261 We did not see any rite connected with food; but the soldier
[15] Gouveia, who was held prisoner in a Nambicuara village for six months in 1911, witnessed such a ceremony. The Indians of that village (which was named Urutau) had killed a large tapir. (1) This was
[178]

1. Tapirus americanus, fairly abundant along the rivers of the area. Hard to catch because very wary.

[the pretext for] a feast. They dragged the animal to the village plaza. Then the men went off into the bush to gather branches with

226 Tephrosia toxicaria is a poisonous legume, a kind of tingui
[Lapinus cascavella] used in fishing.

278 They are not familiar with the fishhook, and use [278: full page of figures] [277] a sort of fish trap made with bamboo or with the stem of the titara liana (Desmoncus sp.).

262 The following foodstuffs are represented in the collection.

--Guaiatê: white maize.

--Urinodzu: manioc dough, which under microscopic examination proved to be very rich in starch grains. The root, once grated, is pressed [by wringing] with a straw cord, the çaaru. (1) The grater

252 [415]

1. [Heloisa Alberto Torres notes that the cylindrical tube used to press manioc by some Amazonian tribes must have spread from the Guianas to the valley of the Amazon. Métraux considers the woven band used for the same purpose and found on the periphery of the tube territory a more primitive form. The simple straw cord of the Nambicuara would thus constitute an even more primitive variant.]

is of the type used by the Xingu Indians (Suyá, etc.). It consists of a board with about two [twenty?] rows of small sticks.

[Fig. 17]

262 --The larvae of a butterfly, which they eat alive.

--Katumuzú: anthill clay, which they also eat.

. . . . . .

[628] --A mushroom, orelha de pau (Polyporus sp.), which is eaten, and beans (Phaseolus sp.) of unusual aspect were also found in one village. [278] The smoked [moqueada] head of a great anteater was

[251] found in a basket by Miranda Ribeiro during the 1909 expedition.

415 Mortars (mutêne) are hollowed out by means of fire and used to
252 pound meat and other foods.

[Fig. 70]

177 Their plaiting follows patterns clearly characteristic of the [223] Xingu (Trumai and Nahuqua) and gives proof of contact with those backward tribes which the rudimentary culture of the Nambicuara had already implied.

[252] The quadrangular barbecue, which differs from the usual pattern, is used only by the more advanced groups (Tagnani, etc.); it recalls the barbecue of the Javahe as depicted by Fritz Krause. (1)

1. F. Krause, In Den Wildnissen Brasiliens [In the Brazilian Wilderness] (Leipzig, 1911).

[201] The straw ornaments of the Nambicuara are quite similar to 197 those of the Suya. But linguistic affinities are even more indicative of contact between the two groups. No other people speaks a dialect [310] so similar to that of the Nambicuara in terms of word morphology, although the two languages are otherwise quite different.

171 It is interesting that a spontaneous affinity should arise be- 177 tween two remote and equally primitive tribes, the Guayaki of Paraguay and the Nambicuara of the Serra do Norte, from their common use of the jaguar hide helmet.

However, I am inclined to believe that the latter copied it from their neighbors, the Cayabi of the Parananinga River, who use helmets of the same material.

178 Unfamiliarity with the banana tree and with the pipe (an ob- 171 ject frequently encountered in North American mounds and Brazilian sambaquis) indicates how long the Nambicuara have been established in their mountain range.

Recognition of the Ge-Botocudo group as one of the oldest representatives of aboriginal South American populations is no longer a matter of dispute. . . . .

171 [311] There is no doubt, in my opinion, that the [Brazilian] linguistic groupings correspond to ascending stages of civilization [312]. . . . . The Serra do Norte is inhabited by a people of Ge culture evolving toward the Nu-Arawakan culture, of which they have barely reached the initial stages.

/216 cont./

224 278 911 [309] The poisoned arrows are intended for hunting certain animals, some large birds, cervids, and especially monkeys. Birds wounded by one of these arrows fall almost immediately.

A monkey mortally wounded with an ordinary arrow or even a bullet often remains hanging from the branches. Under the action of curare it holds itself immobile at first, then begins to tremble and falls several minutes later (five to 10 at the most) as soon as paralysis is produced.

A peccary or small deer such as the Cervus campestris wounded in the body runs for one or two minutes, then stops exhausted, is attacked by tremors and lies down.

The tapir, very large, resists a long time; it can run for two hours before stopping; hence the Indians do not hunt it with curare.

[362] [263] /217/ The meat of animals killed with curare may be eaten without harm; the Ñambikwara of the Juruena content themselves with cutting away the flesh around the wound impregnated with poison and colored yellow; the Çabanê do not even take this precaution.

279 911 726 Poisoned arrows are also used for war; this is perhaps their principal object among many Ñambikwara groups, who possess only a very few specimens during normal times.

None of the Indians know of an efficacious antidote. According to our informants wounds in the trunk would always be fatal to men. By immediately drawing out the arrow, it might be possible to survive a wound in a limb; in order to make their extraction more difficult, the points of the poisoned arrows, especially those of the Çabanê, are very lightly attached to their shafts.